

Message Text

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INR-10 INT-08 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 OMB-01 PM-07 RSC-01

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USIA-15 PRS-01 DRC-01 AGR-20 DOTE-00 XMB-07 /233 W

----- 067320

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4938

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0777

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, XW

SUBJ: EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS AS SEEN
FROM DAR ES SALAAM

REF: NAIROBI 1736

1. SUMMARY: IN RECENT RECENT YEARS, DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN EAST AFRICAN
COMMUNITY (EAC) HAVE BEEN AWAY FROM CENTRAL CONTROL AND IN DIRECTION
OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. COMMON CURRENCY, UNIVERSITIES, AND INCOME
TAX ARE RELICS OF PAST. THERE IS TENDENCY IN EAST AFRICA TODAY TO
CONCLUDE THAT TREND IS SET AND DECAY PROGRESSED SO FAR THAT VIRTUAL
DISINTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY IS JUST MATTER OF TIME. CURRENT DIFFI-
CULTIES WITHIN EAST AFRICAN RAILWAYS CORPORATION (EARC) ARE USED AS
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EVIDENCE FOR THIS ARGUMENT. WE THINK, HOWEVER, SUCH VIEW IS PREMATURE

IN SPITE OF FACT THAT COMMUNITY, AND PARTICULARLY EARC, IS TROUBLED ORGANIZATION. FROM OUR OPTIC, PROSPECTS ARE GOOD FOR CONVENING SESSION, FIRST SINCE NOV. 1970, OF EAST AFRICAN AUTHORITY (HEADS OF STATE FROM KENYA, UGANDA, & TANZANIA) EARLY IN APRIL. FACT THAT EFFORT IS UNDERWAY TO HOLD SESSION SUGGESTS TO US THAT EAC MEMBERS ARE SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN RESOLVING DIFFICULTIES. IF MEETING IS HELD BUT FAILS TO RESOLVE BASIC PROBLEMS OR IF IT DOES NOT TAKE PLACE IN NEAR TERM, WE WILL THEN BE PREPARED TO JOIN RANKS OF PESSIMISTS. IN MEANTIME, WE THINK EAC HAS SUFFICIENT RESILIENCY TO HALT FURTHER DISINTEGRATION. END SUMMARY.

3. INFORMATION ON WHICH THIS ASSESSMENT IS BASED WAS OBTAINED PRIMARILY FROM FOLLOWING PERSONS: (A) E.W.N. MWASAKAFYUKA (TANZANIAN), HEAD OF OAU AFFAIRS SECTION OF MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS; (B) FRED BURENGELO (TANZANIAN), REGIONAL MANAGER (TANZANIA) EAST AFRICAN RAILWAYS; (C) AHMED SETTENDA (UGANDAN), COORDINATOR OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE STAFF, EAC HQ ARUSHA; (D) M.K. YOHANNA (KENYAN), PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER, EAST AFRICAN HARBORS CORPORATION, DAR ES SALAAM; (E) LUGO TAGUBA (TANZANIAN), ACTING DIR. EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA SECTION MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS; (F) O. PLESSING (DANISH), GENERAL MANAGER, TANGANYIKA PLANTING COMPANY, ARUSHA; AND (G) WILLIAM MORRIS (AMERICAN), MANAGING DIRECTOR, ESSO STANDARD TANZANIA.

3. CORE OF EAC HAS ALWAYS BEEN COMMON SERVICES--RAILWAYS, HARBORS, POST/TELECOMMUNICATIONS, AND AIRWAYS. OTHER ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY WHICH CONTINUE TO FUNCTION ARE EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, COMMON CUSTOMS, DEVELOPMENT BANK, EAST AFRICAN COURT OF APPEAL, FIVE POLICY COUNCILS, AND VARIOUS RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS. ALTHOUGH COMMON CURRENCY, UNIVERSITIES, AND INCOME TAX COLLECTION HAVE GIVEN WAY TO NATIONAL SENSITIVITIES, ONLY IN PAST YEAR HAVE COMMON SERVICES COME UNDER STRAIN. MANY NON-UGANDAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS PERSONNEL REFUSED TO WORK AT KAMPALA HQ FEARING FOR THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY. EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS RAN HEAVY DEFICIT LAST YEAR, WHICH THREATENED ITS VERY EXISTENCE. IN MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT, RAILWAYS ARE FACING VERITABLE CRISIS SITUATION WHICH COULD LEAD POTENTIALLY TO BREAKUP OF COMMON RAILWAY ORGANIZATION. BLEAK EDITORIAL IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED MARCH 8 TANZANIA DAILY NEWS COMMENTED THAT UNLESS THERE IS QUICK RESOLUTION (REFERENCE TO CURRENT MEETING OF EARC BOARD OF DIRECTORS IN NAIROBI) OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS CONFRONTING RAIL-
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WAYS, "SENSIBLE THING MAY WELL BE TO WIND UP THE INSTITUTION."

4. IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, SPELLED OUT IN REFTTEL, IS SITUATION AT RAILWAYS. WE HAVE DEVELOPED FOLLOWING INFORMATION, MUCH OF WHICH LOOKS AT QUESTION FROM TANZANIAN PERSPECTIVE, IN EFFORT TO ASSESS SERIOUSNESS OF MATTER:

(A) ACCORDING TO BURENGELO, CENTRAL ISSUE IS QUESTION OF RAIL-

WAY CARS WHICH ARE DIVIDED UP APPROXIMATELY 5,000 TO KENYA, 4,000 TO TANZANIA AND 4,000 TO UGANDA. BURENGELO SAID TANZANIA FEELS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA AND TANZANIA HAVE EQUAL PRIORITY AND, THEREFORE, TANZANIA SHOULD HAVE AS MANY CARS AT ITS DISPOSAL AS DOES KENYA. HE BELIEVED KENYA HAS OVERSTATED NUMBER OF CARS BEING USED IN TANZANIA AND WAS ALSO CONFIDENT FORMULA WILL BE FOUND SOON WHEREBY POL SHIPMENTS FROM MOMBASA REFINERY TO NORTHERN TANZANIA CAN BE RESUMED. SHORTAGE OF CARS IN TANZANIA IS CONFIRMED BY SEVERAL SOURCES. DELIVERIES OF FUEL FROM MOMBASA REFINERY TO NORTHERN TANZANIA HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED. MORRIS STATED TANZANIA CURRENTLY HAS ONLY 20 TANK CARS, 10 OTHERS HAVING BEEN HELD IN KENYA TWO WEEKS AGO. TURN AROUND TIME FROM DAR TO ARUSHA IS SO GREAT THAT OIL COMPANIES CANNOT MAINTAIN ADEQUATE SUPPLY TO ARUSHA AND MOSHI INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS. BY END OF MARCH MANY OF THESE OPERATIONS MAY HAVE TO SUSPEND OPERATIONS AND FARMS WHICH USE TRACTORS MAY HAVE TO REDUCE OPERATIONS. PLESSING ADDED THAT HIS SUGAR MILL REQUIRES 3 TANK CARS PER WEEK TO TRANSFER MOLASSES TO MOMBASA. DUE TO LACK OF STORAGE FACILITIES, AND SHORTAGE OF TANK CARS, MOLASSES IS BEING POURED ON GROUND. AT BEGINNING OF WEEK, PLESSING ASKED RAILWAYS IN NAIROBI TO RESUME TANK CAR DELIVERIES. KENYANS EXPLAINED THAT 33 OUT OF 44 CARS SENT TO TANZANIA LAST MONTH HAD NOT BEEN RETURNED TO KENYA ALTHOUGH NYERERE HAD SO PROMISED. UNLESS THERE IS ONE FOR ONE EXCHANGE, KENYANS SAID THEY COULD NOT ASSIST. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF RAIL CAR SHORTAGE WAS CITED BY TAGUBA WHEN HE MOTIONED TO HIS DESK AND SAID "I HAVE COMPLAINTS FROM BURUNDI, RWANDA, AND ZAIRE CONCERNING INABILITY TO SHIP GOODS DUE TO LACK OF CARS." (THIS PROBLEM IS, IN PART, DUE TO INEFFICIENCY SINCE IT TAKES AN AVERAGE 1.1 MONTHS FOR RAILCAR TO GO FROM DAR TO KIGOMA AND BACK.) MWASAKAFYUKA SUMMARIZED TANZANIAN POSITION ON RELUCTANCE TO SEND CARS BACK TO KENYA BY NOTING THERE IS UNFAIR DISTRIBUTION OF CARS IN EAST AFRICA.

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(B) MWASAKAFYUKA CONFIRMED TANZANIAN REFUSAL TO ACCEPT REAPPOINTMENT OF GAKUO AS DIR. GEN. OF EARC. (HE ADDED THAT UGANDAN EAST AFRICAN MINISTER FOR COMMUNICATIONS, RESEARCH AND SOCIAL SERVICES, CAPT. HUSSEIN MARIJAN, RECENTLY TOLD TANZANIANS GAKUO IS ALSO UNACCEPTABLE TO UGANDANS.) HE ARGUED THAT GAKUO IS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN MANIPULATING RAILROAD FOR BENEFIT OF KENYA. SAID TANZANIA ALSO UNHAPPY THAT GAKUO HAS NEVER VISITED TANZANIA EXCEPT FOR EAC SESSIONS IN ARUSHA. HE HINTED AT SITUATION WHICH EMBASSY HAS HEARD FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, TO WIT THAT CERTAIN SENIOR KENYANS IN EARC, POSSIBLY INCLUDING GAKUO, HAVE CLOSE LINKS WITH PRIVATE TRUCKING INTERESTS IN KENYA AND, THEREFORE, FIND IT TO THEIR PERSONAL ADVANTAGE TO FAVOR FREIGHT BY TRUCK RATHER THAN RAIL. IF TRUE, THIS WOULD DECREASE EAR (KENYA) REVENUE, FURTHER CONTRIBUTING TO LARGE DEFICIT WHICH IS MADE UP BY THREE STATES. BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, CONFIDENTIAL

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REFUSAL TO ACCEPT GAKUO IS NOT FIRST OCCASION MEMBER STATE HAS TAKEN SUCH POSITION. FOLLOWING AMIN TAKEOVER IN UGANDA, TANZANIA REFUSED TO ACCEPT APPOINTMENT OF UGANDAN MINISTER Z.H.K. BIGIRWENKYA.

(C) DAILY NEWS EDITORIAL MENTIONED ABOVE NOTED THAT "DECENTRALIZATION" OF RAILWAY HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTED AS FULLY AS ENVISAGED IN ORIGINAL TREATY. MWASAKAFYUKA ALSO REFERRED TO FACT THAT GAKUO HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO DECENTRALIZE AUTHORITY SUCH AS TANZANIANS DESIRE. THERE THUS APPEARS TO BE SERIOUS EFFORT BY TANZANIA TO OBTAIN MORE CONTROL OVER OPERATION OF RAILWAY IN TANZANIA. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, INTERPRET THIS AS TANZANIAN ATTEMPT TO BREAKUP EARC.

(D) CONCERNING FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF EARC, BURENGELO EXPLAINED THIS REFERS TO SERIES OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS WHICH TANZANIA RAISED WITH KENYA OVER ALLOCATION OF FUNDS AT EARC HQ IN NAIROBI. HE ADMITTED THERE HAVE BEEN TANZANIAN PAYMENT DELAYS BUT SAID NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO WITHHOLD PAYMENTS. HE SAID (AND CONFIRMED EARLIER BY BANK OF TANZANIA OFFICIAL) MOST PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN

TRANSFERRED TO KENYA ACCOUNT--ALBEIT BEHIND SCHEDULE.

(E) CONCERNING REPORT IN REFTEL THAT TANZANIA IS CONSIDERING CHANGING GAUGE OF ITS TRACK TO THAT OF TAZARA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, BURENGELO SAID PROPOSAL HAS BEEN ON BOOKS FOR SEVERAL YEARS. STUDY WAS NOT DESIGNED SOLELY FOR TANZANIA, HOWEVER, BUT FOR ENTIRE SYSTEM. HIGH COST OF PROJECT HAS PREVENTED ITS IMPLEMENTATION THROUGHOUT EAST AFRICA. ONLY SIGNIFICANT STEP TAKEN TO DATE IS REQUIREMENT THAT ALL NEW RAIL CARS SHOULD BE ADAPTABLE TO WIDER TRACK IF CHANGE IS MADE. BURENGELO DID NOT THINK GAUGE WOULD EVER BE CHANGED. MWASKAFYUKA CONFIRMED THIS VIEW. EVEN IF GAUGE SHOULD BE WIDENED THROUGHOUT EAST AFRICA SO THAT IT WOULD BE SAME AS TAZARA, TWO SYSTEMS ARE USING DIFFERENT BRAKING AND COUPLING SYSTEMS. POINT IS THAT FEASIBILITY STUDY WAS DESIGNED FOR ALL OF EAST AFRICA, NOT JUST TANZANIA, AND THEREFORE THIS FACT DOES NOT SUPPORT ARGUMENT THAT TANZANIA IS TRYING TO DEVELOP ITS OWN "NATIONAL" RAILROAD.

(F) REGARDING KENYAN COMPLAINT THAT TANZANIA HAS DECIDED TO SHIP ALL COFFEE EXPORTS ON RAIL IN TANZANIA TO TANZANIAN PORT OF TANGA RATHER THAN KENYA PORT OF MOMBASA, MWASAKAFYUKA ASKED WHY SHOULDN'T WE? HE ARGUED PORT OF MOMBASA IS CONGESTED WHILE TANGA IS UNDER-UTILIZED. HE ADDED, IF YOU USE TANGA PORT, OBVIOUSLY YOU USE RAIL-WAY IN TANZANIA. TAGUABA ADDED COFFEE AUCTIONS ARE NOW BEING HELD

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IN MOSHI AS WELL AS MOMBASA, THUS ELIMINATING NECESSITY TO SHIP TANZANIAN COFFEE TO MOMBASA. WE BELIEVE THESE ARGUMENTS SATISFACTORILY EXPLAIN SHIPMENT OF COFFEE FROM KILIMANJARO REGION TO TANGA, BUT THEY ARE LESS CONVINCING IN CASE OF COFFEE GROWN IN WEST LAKE.

(G) ON SUBJECT OF RAILWAYS, TANZANIANS HAVE OWN BILL OF PARTICULARS AGAINST KENYANS. TANZANIANS ARE OUTRAGED OVER KENYAN TAKEOVER OF EARC CENTRAL WORKSHOPS AND RAILWAY TRAINING SCHOOL IN NAIROBI (DAR ES SALAAM 436).

(H) NUMBER OF TANZANIANS HAVE COMMENTED UNFAVORABLY ABOUT PROPOSED POL PIPELINE FROM MOMBASA TO NAIROBI. ALTHOUGH IT MAY MAKE ECONOMIC SENSE FOR KENYA, TANZANIA SEES THIS AS ANOTHER VEHICLE WHICH WILL TAKE AWAY POTENTIAL REVENUE FROM RAILWAY, THUS LEAVING EAR (KENYA) WITH EVER INCREASING DEFICIT WHICH MUST BE BORNE BY ALL THREE COUNTRIES TO ADVANTAGE OF ONE.

5. SITUATION WITHIN EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS CONTAINS BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ELEMENTS. FINANCIAL CRISIS CONFRONTING AIRWAYS LAST YEAR HAS AMELIORATED CONSIDERABLY, DUE IN NO SMALL PART TO ADVISORY HELP FROM EASTERN AIRLINES. ACCORDING TO LOCAL REPORTS, COMMON AIRLINE IS HEALTHIER THAN IT HAS BEEN IN LONG TIME. ON NEGATIVE SIDE, WE HEAR FROM BRITISH HC THAT TANZANIA IS TAKING CONTINGENCY STEPS TO CREATE OWN NATIONAL AIRLINE.

6. YOHANNA DISCUSSED TUG-OF-WAR GOING ON BETWEEN KENYA AND TANZANIA, NOTING IT IS BEGINNING TO AFFECT OPERATIONS OF HARBOURS CORP. HE SAID KENYA REFUSES TO TRANSMIT TWO MILLION SHILLINGS WEEKLY EARNINGS FROM MOMBASA PORT AS DIRECT RETALIATION OVER RAILWAY DIFFICULTIES. HE ADDED THAT TANZANIA HAS REMOVED KENYAN OPERATIONAL EXECUTIVES FROM PORTS IN TANZANIA. KENYAN STAFF AT HARBOURS CORP. HQ IN DAR ES SALAAM HAS NOT BEEN AFFECTED, HOWEVER.

7. IN SPITE OF ABOVE PROBLEMS AND PERVASIVE PESSIMISM BEING EXPRESSED ABOUT FUTURE OF COMMUNITY, IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT EAC HAS WEATHERED WORSE DIFFICULTIES. SETTENDA, MWASAKAFYUKA, AND TAGUABA ALL EMPHASIZED IN THEIR REMARKS THAT SITUATION AFTER AMIN TAKEOVER IN UGANDA AND DOWNWARD SPIRAL IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TANZANIA AND UGANDA CONFRONTED EAC WITH EVEN GRAVER CRISIS THAN EXISTS TODAY. YET, COMMUNITY SURVIVED. SETTENDA INSISTED THAT IT CONFIDENTIAL

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HAS "BRIGHT FUTURE" ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED TO CURRENT PROBLEMS. MWASAKAFYUKA, ALTHOUGH REFERRING CAUSTICALLY TO SUPERIOR ATTITUDE OF KENYANS, SAID "EAC WILL SURVIVE." MWASAKAFYUKA SAID KENYANS MUST STOP TRYING TO RUN WHOLE SHOW, ADDING THAT TANZANIA LOOKS FORWARD TO JUNE 1974 WHEN CURRENT SECRETARY GENERAL MAINA (KENYAN) OF EAC COMPLETES HIS TERM AND TANZANIAN WILL SUCCEED HIM. TAGUABA WAS ALSO CERTAIN THAT EAC WOULD WEATHER CURRENT STORM. YOHANNA AGREED, ADDING HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE WITNESSING LONG-TERM DECLINE IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS SINCE ARRIVAL OF AMIN. YOHANNA OPINED THAT DIFFICULTY IN DIVIDING ASSETS AND DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY DEBT WOULD PROBABLY BE BIGGEST RESTRAINT ON BREAKUP OF ANY EAC CORPORATIONS.

8. MARCH 5 TANZANIA DAILY NEWS ANNOUNCED THAT EAST AFRICAN AUTHORITY, COMPRISING THREE HEADS OF STATE, "MAY MEET DURING FIRST WEEK OF APRIL TO REVIEW AFFAIRS OF EAC". ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE FOLLOWING DELIVERY OF MESSAGE REQUESTING MEETING TO PRESIDENTS AMIN AND KENYATTA BY TANZANIAN COMMUNICATIONS AND WORKS MINISTER LUSINDE. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALECELA EARLIER SAW KENYATTA, REPORTEDLY TO IRON OUT SOME EAC PROBLEMS (DAR ES SALAAM 564). MWASAKAFYUKA, SETTENDA, AND TAGUABA ALL BELIEVE THAT MEETING OF AUTHORITY WILL TAKE PLACE IN EARLY APRIL. THEY DISAGREE WHETHER SITE WILL BE ARUSHA, NAIROBI, OR MOMBASA.

9. CONCLUSION: ALTHOUGH PESSIMISM ABOUT FUTURE OF EAC IS PERVASIVE, WE BELIEVE (A) IT IS PREMATURE TO PREDICT FURTHER DISINTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY AND (B) BLAME FOR CURRENT PROBLEMS IS SHARED BY MEMBER STATES, PARTICULARLY KENYA AND TANZANIA. BASED ON INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY, WE THINK CHANCES ARE VERY GOOD MEETING OF EAST AFRICAN AUTHORITY WILL TAKE PLACE IN EARLY APRIL. UNTIL AND IF SESSION, WHICH MAY BE CRUCIAL FOR LONG-TERM FUTURE OF EAC, IS HELD AND RESULTS ARE KNOWN, WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO PREDICT BREAKUP OF INDIVIDUAL CORPORATIONS OF EAC. SHOULD MEETING OF AUTHORITY

FAIL TO SOLVE BASIC PROBLEMS OR SHOULD IT NOT TAKE PLACE, WE MAY
WELL FIND OURSELVES JOINING RANKS OF PESSIMISTS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ROLLING STOCK, RAILROADS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, POLITICAL SITUATION, RAIL TRANSPORTATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974DARES00777
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740354/aaaabygq.tel
Line Count: 334
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: NAIROBI 1736
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2002 by rowelle0>; APPROVED <29 JAN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS AS SEEN FROM DAR ES SALAAM
TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, XW, EAST AFRICAN RAILWAYS CORPORATION
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005